

## Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07

IO-10 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01

SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05

BIB-01 /089 W

----- 077605

P R 271740Z MAY 75

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1000

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0240

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: WESTERN POSITION ON VERIFICATION

REF: (A) STATE 119270; (B) BONN 08395

1. THE POSITIVE NATURE OF THE PRELIMINARY FRG EVALUATION  
OF US VERIFICATION VIEWS IN REFTELS IS ENCOURAGING.

WE BELIEVE THE FRG RESPONSE PROVIDES A SUFFICIENT BASIS  
FOR THE US NOW TO MOVE TO SUBMIT TO SPC BRIEF DRAFT  
GUIDANCE FOR USE OF AD HOC GROUP, FORMULATED IN TERMS  
WHICH LEAVE THE WAY OPEN FOR FURTHER US-FRG DISCUSSION  
ON VERIFICATION. IF WASHINGTON AGENCIES WISH TO FOLLOW  
THIS COURSE AND AGREE ON A TEXT, WE RECOMMEND THAT IT  
WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO CLEAR IT WITH THE FRG PRIOR TO  
SUBMISSION TO THE SPC.

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2. WE BELIEVE NATO ACTION WILL BE NEEDED SOON IF THE ALLIES ARE TO PUT FORWARD A POSITION DURING THIS ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS. IF THE ALLIES FAIL TO DO SO, AS WE HAVE NOTED IN MBFR VIENNA 0183, THE POSSIBILITIES FOR SERIOUS NEGOTIATION WITH THE EAST ON MANNED VERIFICATION WILL BE DEMINISHED.

3. WE HOPE THAT DISCUSSION WITH THE FRG OF WHETHER IT IS DESIRABLE TO MONITOR WITHDRAWALS BY OTHER GROUND OBSERVERS AS WELL AS BY PERSONNEL STATIONED AT FIXED ENTRY POINTS WILL NOT OBSCURE THE MAIN THRUST OF THE US SUGGESTION. EASTERN AGREEMENT TO A SYSTEM OF FIXED ENTRY- EXIT POINTS WITH MANNED OBSERVERS WHICH WILL REMAIN IN EFFECT AFTER WITHDRAWALS FOR THE DURATION OF A PHASE I AGREEMENT. THIS IS THE MORE IMPORTANT PART OF THE US VERIFICATION CONCEPT AND WE BELIEVE FRG MAY ACCEPT IT. BUT THE RECENT FRG COMMENTS ARE NOT CLEAR ON WHETHER THE FRG IS PREPARED TO HAVE OBSERVERS AT THE EXIT-ENTRY POINTS FOLLOWING WITHDRAWALS, AND PRIORITY SHOULD IN OUR VIEW BE GIVEN TO OBTAINING FRG AGREEMENT TO THIS POINT.

4. A POSSIBLE DRAFT TEXT FOR THE SPC FOLLOWS.

5. BEGIN SUGGESTED TEXT:

I. GENERAL

1. IT IS AN IMPORTANT ALLIED PRINCIPLE THAT ANY MBFR AGREEMENT MUST CONTAIN APPROPRIATE VERIFICATION PROVISIONS. IN CM(73)83, IT WAS AGREED THAT NON-INTERFERENCE WITH NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS WOULD BE A NECESSARY PROVISION OF MBFR AGREEMENTS. IN ADDITION, IT WAS AGREED THAT, WHILE THE ALLIES SHOULD NOT HAVE TO RELY ON ADDITIONAL NEGOTIATED PROVISIONS FOR MULTINATIONAL VERIFICATION, IT WAS NEVERTHELESS HIGHLY DESIRABLE TO SEEK NEGOTIATED MANNED INSPECTION.

2. IN MORE THAN A YEAR AND A HALF OF NEGOTIATIONS IN VIENNA, THERE HAS BEEN NO SERIOUS DISCUSSION OF VERIFICATION. THE ALLIES HAVE FROM TIME TO TIME REIT-  
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ERATED TO THE EAST THEIR INTEREST IN VERIFICATION BY OBSERVERS. BUT THEY HAVE NOT BEEN IN A POSITION TO GO BEYOND GENERALITIES TO MAKE ANY CONCRETE PROPOSAL. FOR ITS PART, THE EAST HAS TOUCHED ON THE SUBJECT OF VERIFICATION ONLY IN PASSING, STATING THAT VERIFICATION CAN BE ENSURED BY "NATIONAL MEANS." THE EAST HAS NOT INDICATED WHETHER IT COULD ACCEPT ANY NEGOTIATED VERIFICATION MEASURES WHATEVER.

3. IT IS IMPORTANT, IN ORDER TO AVOID PREJUDICING THE CHANCES FOR OBTAINING SOME PROVISIONS FOR NEGOTIATED INSPECTION IN AN MBFR AGREEMENT, NOT TO GIVE THE EAST THE IMPRESSION THAT THE WEST MAY BE LOSING INTEREST IN VERIFICATION OR GIVES THIS SUBJECT A LOWER PRIORITY THAN OTHER ASPECTS OF ITS PROPOSALS. FOR THIS REASON, WE BELIEVE THE ALLIES SHOULD PUT FORWARD -- AT LEAST IN OUTLINE -- A CONCRETE PROPOSAL FOR A PHASE I SYSTEM OF VERIFICATION BY OBSERVERS DURING THE CURRENT NEGOTIATING ROUND IN VIENNA.

4. VARIOUS POSSIBILITIES FOR A SYSTEM OF NEGOTIATED INSPECTION HAVE BEEN UNDER DISCUSSION IN THE ALLIANCE FOR MORE THAN A YEAR. THE FOLLOWING SUGGESTED GUIDANCE TO THE AD HOC GROUP HAS BEEN DRAWN UP ON THE BASIS OF THOSE DISCUSSIONS. IT REPRESENTS, IN OUTLINE, A PROPOSAL FOR NEGOTIATED INSPECTION WHICH (A) WOULD BE A USEFUL AND EFFECTIVE SUPPLEMENT TO NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS FOR VERIFYING EASTERN COMPLIANCE WITH A PHASE I AGREEMENT; (B) WOULD ENHANCE ALLIED ASSURANCE OF OBTAINING EARLY WARNING OF POSSIBLE PACT PREPARATIONS FOR A MAJOR ATTACK AGAINST NATO; (C) WOULD PROBABLY BE POLITICALLY ACCEPTABLE TO MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE; AND (D) HAS AT LEAST SOME CHANCE OF BEING ACCEPTED BY THE EAST.

5. THE SUGGESTED GUIDANCE APPLIES ONLY TO PHASE I AND ONLY TO US AND SOVIET FORCES. THE CHIEF PURPOSE OF ADVANCING IT AT THIS STAGE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE TO INDICATE TO THE EAST THE CONTINUED STRONG ALLIED INTEREST IN VERIFICATION, AND TO OBTAIN  
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PRELIMINARY EASTERN REACTIONS TO NEGOTIATED INSPECTION IN THIS FORM. FOR THIS REASON, THE GUIDANCE PRESENTS ONLY THE BARE OUTLINE OF A PROPOSAL ON VERIFICATION BY OBSERVERS. FURTHER WORK ON THE DETAILS WOULD NEED TO BE CARRIED OUT WITHIN THE ALLIANCE. THIS WORK COULD PROCEED IN THE LIGHT OF PRELIMINARY EASTERN REACTIONS. THE PROPOSAL DOES NOT PURPORT TO BE THE COMPLETE ALLIED POSITION ON THIS SUBJECT. FOR ONE THING, IT DOES NOT CONTAIN DETAILED TREATMENT OF NON-INTERFERENCE WITH NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS. DETAILED DISCUSSION OF THAT ISSUE CAN PROPERLY BE LEFT FOR LATER IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07

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SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05

BIB-01 /089 W

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P R 271740Z MAY 75

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1001

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0240

FROM US REP MBFR

II. DRAFT TEXT OF NAC GUIDANCE:

6. TEXT OF SUGGESTED NATO GUIDANCE TO THE AD HOC  
GROUP FOLLOWS:

7. ALLIED NEGOTIATORS ARE AUTHORIZED TO MAKE THE  
PROPOSALS BELOW TO THE EAST CONCERNING VERIFICATION OF  
A PHASE I REDUCTION AGREEMENT, NOTING THAT DETAILS OF  
THESE IDEAS WILL BE ADVANCED AT A LATER TIME. THESE PRO-  
POSALS ON NEGOTIATED VERIFICATION MEASURES SHOULD BE ADVANCED  
AS AN ADDITION TO THE PRESENT WESTERN REQUIREMENT FOR  
NON-INTERFERENCE WITH NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS WHICH  
ALLIED NEGOTIATIONS HAVE ALREADY ADVANCED TO THE EAST  
IN THE WESTERN PLENARY STATEMENT OF MARCH 14, 1974.

A. A PHASE I AGREEMENT SHOULD CONTAIN  
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PROVISION FOR VERIFYING THAT THE US AND SOVIET FORCES REQUIRED TO BE WITHDRAWN ARE IN FACT WITHDRAWN AND ARE NOT SUBSEQUENTLY RETURNED OR REPLACED IN VIOLATION OF THE PHASE I AGREEMENT.

B. WHEN WITHDRAWALS HAVE BEEN AGREED IN PRINCIPLE, THE US AND USSR SHOULD AGREE ON A LIST OF INSTALLATIONS FROM WHICH FORCES ARE TO BE WITHDRAWN. (FYI: WE BELIEVE THAT THE QUESTION OF AGREED LISTS OF UNITS TO BE WITHDRAWN AND THEIR STRENGTHS, ENUMERATIONS OF PERSONNEL WITHDRAWN INDIVIDUALLY, AND THE QUESTION OF NOTIFICATION OF THE BEGINNING AND END OF WITHDRAWALS SHOULD BE NEGOTIATED IN THE CONTEXT OF REACHING AGREEMENT ON REDUCTIONS, RATHER THAN IN TREATMENT OF VERIFICATION AS SUCH. HENCE THEY ARE NOT MENTIONED HERE. ALL OF THESE POINTS ARE CONTAINED IN THE WARSAW PACT DRAFT AGREEMENT AND SHOULD THEREFORE NOT ENCOUNTER MAJOR OBJECTIONS FROM THE EAST. END FYI.

C. AFTER THE AGREEMENT COMES INTO EFFECT, MOVEMENT OF ALL US AND SOVIET FORCES INTO AND OUT OF THE REDUCTION AREA, INCLUDING THE AGREED WITHDRAWALS, SHOULD BE RESTRICTED TO A FIXED NUMBER OF SPECIFIED ENTRY-EXIST POINTS. THESE POINTS COULD INCLUDE MAJOR RAIL AND ROAD CROSSINGS, AIRFIELDS AND PORTS. THE NUMBER AND LOCATION OF SUCH POINTS WOULD BE AGREED. SOME FLEXIBILITY TO ACCOMMODATE POSSIBLE NEEDS OF THE PARTIES COULD BE PROVIDED BY PERMITTING UNDER CONDITIONS TO BE AGREED SOME MOVEMENT THROUGH ADDITIONAL POINTS.

D. EACH SIDE WOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO ESTABLISH OBSERVATION POSTS AT EACH OF THE AGREED ENTRY-EXIST POINTS TO OBSERVE THE MOVEMENT OF FORCES INTO AND OUT OF THE AREA. THESE POSTS WOULD BE MANNED BY OBSERVERS. THE RIGHTS AND STATUS OF OBSERVERS WOULD BE DEFINED BY A PROTOCOL TO THE REDUCTIONS AGREEMENT.

E. FOLLOWING COMPLETION OF WITHDRAWAL, EACH SIDE SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT ON DEMAND TO SEND A TEAM OF OBSERVERS TO CLARIFY SITUATIONS IT DEEMS AMBIGUOUS. THE FREQUENCY OF SUCH OBSERVATIONS WOULD BE LIMITED TO AN AGREED MAXIMUM NUMBER IN ANY ONE YEAR. THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH SUCH

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OBSERVATION WOULD BE CARRIED OUT, AND THE RIGHTS OF THE OBSERVERS, WOULD ALSO BE DEFINED IN THE PROTOCOL. END TEXT OF GUIDANCE TO AD HOC GROUP.

END TEXT OF DRAFT MESSAGE TO SPC.RESOR

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** NEGOTIATIONS, MILITARY CAPABILITIES, FORCE & TROOP LEVELS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 27 MAY 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975MBFRV00240  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D750185-0215  
**From:** MBFR VIENNA  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
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**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19750517/aaaaapat.tel  
**Line Count:** 279  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION ACDA  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 6  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 75 STATE 119270, 75 BONN 08395  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 02 APR 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <02 APR 2003 by ElyME>; APPROVED <07 APR 2003 by GolinoFR>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** MBFR: WESTERN POSITION ON VERIFICATION  
**TAGS:** PARM, NATO, MBFR  
**To:** STATE DOD  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006